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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NEXT WEEK WILL BEGIN A
NEW SERIAL STORY

BY

WILLIAM MORRIS

ENTITLED:

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

SCENES FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

I.

PARIS AFTER THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE—THE VETO.

THE Bastille has fallen; two of the worst tyrants, Foulon and Berthier, are dead; other oppressors have taken to flight before the storm of popular rage. But what avails it? The Parisian workman has only shed his blood that Bailly may be mayor of Paris and enjoy the spoils of office; that Lafayette—a liberal aristocrat, a soldier who gained his laurels and his liberalism in the war for the liberation of the American colonies from the dominion of England—may caracole through the streets on his white horse and act the part of a Warren to the Paris workmen. The people have new tyrants in the place of the old ones; the middle classes have climbed into the places of the aristocrats, and that is all that has been gained by the popular victory.

Meanwhile, the middle classes are quite contented, and cannot understand why the people are not also satisfied. But there is little cause for satisfaction. Distress has heightened; bread is scarce; many of the rich aristocrats, as well as the more timid of the middle class, have fled from Paris; workshops are closed, and the workers are left to starve. But though the rich have fled, the poor and destitute have thronged into the capital, attracted by the roar of the revolution, and hoping that in the centre of the movement life would be easier and pleasanter. You may see now, throughout these months of August and September, crowds of the people assemble round every baker's shop waiting in *queue*, or waiting in tail, as people wait to get their tickets at a station, one by one, so that the first come may be the first served. This waiting calmly and quietly distinguishes the French people from the English, for to-day at theatre doors you will see them waiting in the same fashion, without any of that rough struggling and pushing in which the weakest goes to the wall, which distinguishes our own polite and refined race. But what causes this scarcity of bread? Partly the bad harvest of the year before; also the fact that the peasants and farmers, having got rid of their landlords by burning their chateaux and hunting them away, had no need to sell their grain for rent, but kept it for themselves; and last but not least, the action of corn monopolists and royalist intriguers, who, partly moved by greed, and also by the desire to punish the inhabitants of the revolutionary city, kept back the corn to starve them into submission.

It was no wonder, under these circumstances, that the middle-class people grew very nervous. The revolutionary spirit was abroad; the very street children conquered imaginary bastilles and waged war among themselves. So general had the street warfare become that the Town Council—so the 'Histoire Parlementaire' of Buchez and Roux informs us—found it necessary to pass a solemn decree against this dangerous and seditious practice on the part of these little scamps.

Revolution was in the air. Every day there were the most terrible rumours afloat as to the possibility of another rising. On Montmartre—at that time a green hill, crowned with windmills, outside the city walls—some seventeen thousand of starving men are employed at digging holes and filling them up again—at the magnificent wage of tenpence a day—by the patriot municipality, that rides in its gilded coaches and "preserves its places and its pensions." Writers of the time declare that these poor wretches looked more like skeletons than human beings after a course of this magnificent pay and the splendid

diet—two pounds of very bad black-bread—procured by it. It is suspected that plaster-of-Paris enters largely into the composition of this bread. The people who eat it complain that "it produces an effect upon the bowels, and causes the throat and palate to smart." But they are warned by a Town Hall proclamation to regard these trifling matters as nothing, or even as actually beneficial from a medicinal point of view.

But to return to the Paris unemployed. These starving men are a constant source of terror to the well-fed Municipals. Lafayette in his capacity of general of the middle-class National Guard has been to harangue them, and doubtless to congratulate them upon living in an age of liberty, upon tenpence a day. He does not like their looks, however; and a few days afterwards, hearing that they are coming to sack Paris, he plants cannon loaded with grapeshot at the barriers to mow them down, and thus prepares to vindicate his character as a defender of French liberty. However, the rumour turned out to be false, and they did not come. The Municipal Council at last gets rid of "the utterly necessitous, digging on Montmartre." They are presented with passes, and are "dismissed into space" with the small fortune of four shillings. Under the old government they would probably have been whipped or hung as rebellious vagabonds; so it is possible that they have gained *something* by the revolution. But poor Lafayette has his hands full. There are strikes on all hands of famished operatives, excited by the advent of the reign of liberty, which should surely mean higher wages. The tailors, shoemakers, apothecaries, wig-makers and hairdressers, are all out; domestic servants, out of place through the flight of the aristocrats and the rich middle class, also form a union and hold open-air meetings with the other strikers, Lafayette and his patrols keeping a wary eye upon them.

But though it is an age of liberty, middle-class benevolence had not reached its present high pitch. The middle class did not like strikes; in which they resemble their brothers nowadays; but then they took no pains to disguise their dislike to such dangerous proceedings. Several of the meetings are dispersed by main force, and with great brutality by middle-class National Guards, who even wounded some honest citizens with their bayonets.

While Paris thus hovered on the brink of revolution, Versailles is busy making the constitution, occasionally making it very quickly, as on the 4th of August, when they abolished the feudal dues and tithes, being aided in their work by the light of burning chateaux and the roar of popular insurrection. They have just reached a critical stage in its manufacture; a large section of the Assembly, containing in its ranks many ex-middle class revolutionists, desire to imitate as nearly as possible the constitution of England. They want a House of Lords, as a paper barrier against a revolted democracy; they also want the king to have a veto upon any laws passed by future Assemblies; that is, the king shall have the power of saying "No" to anything the Assembly may pass. That this section was a majority there can be little doubt, for Mirabeau, whose influence was overwhelming, was quite in favour of the king having the veto, and, in fact, from this period he practically begins his reactionary courses; but the people were not. They had overthrown the Bastille to get a better and happier life for the poor, and they knew very well there was a very small chance of getting anything of the kind when a king could lawfully say "No" to it. Therefore a fierce agitation grew up in Paris against this veto.

In Paris at that time the revolutionists were in the habit of meeting in the Gardens of the Palais Royal. It was there we saw the revolution break out, when Camille Desmoulins sprang on a table outside the Café de Foy and raised the cry "To arms!" Here, according to Camille, who was a constant attendant at these excited gatherings, the business of the night was carried on in the most free and easy fashion. Any citizen with his soul burning for the good of his country could rush there, with a speech or motion that was absolutely necessary for its salvation, mount his chair and begin. If he is applauded he keeps on and carries his resolution, if he is hissed he departs. Thus the people conducted their business in the year 1789.

But though this may seem amusing to us, it was serious enough then; the Palais Royal was proud of its achievements. It had given the signal for the revolution, and might perchance light up the flames of

the next. Therefore, its opinion upon current questions was important. Even Lafayette and Bailly dared not suppress these meetings; first, because they dreaded the consequences, and secondly, the grounds of the Palais Royal were private property. They belonged to the Duke of Orleans, a prince of the blood, who had his eye upon the throne and therefore favoured the popular cause.

But now the veto is likely to be carried through a traitorous Assembly; the Palais Royal becomes highly excited; orators declaim with furious vehemence amid shouting crowds. Strong resolutions are passed; strong speeches are made. Traitorous deputies are written to and informed that if they vote for the Veto, there are fifteen thousand men in Paris ready to march and "light up their chateaux." Fifteen hundred men do get ready to march, and to "remonstrate" with these traitors, the Marquis St. Huruge, an aristocratic popular orator, at their head. But Lafayette calls out his National Guard, the procession is stopped by fixed bayonets at barriers, and the processionists are forced to return. Indignation meetings are held; matters look so serious that insurrection seems imminent. But the Assembly grew alarmed; the House of Lords or Senate idea is rejected, and the veto is altered into suspensive veto, that is, the king could only postpone his sanction to any measure beyond two sessions. At the same time Lafayette falls heavily upon the Palais Royal, and St. Huruge is thrown into prison. A slight disturbance one evening, not at all unlikely to occur in an excited time, is taken advantage of to close the meetings altogether. Other men likely to be dangerous, are also arrested; Marat is ordered to appear at the Town Hall to answer for his "incendiary" articles. The hawkers are not allowed to cry without they get a license and a leaden badge; all meetings are suppressed. National Guard patrols parade the streets with levelled bayonets, dispersing chance groups. Camille Desmoulins, once a starving advocate, now a brilliant journalist, has cleverly satirised the proceedings of these gentry. He relates how, walking at night through the narrow streets of Paris, he met a sentinel. "'Take the footway to the left,' cries the sentinel to me; further on another shouts 'Walk to your left,' and in the Rue St. Marguerite two patrols cry together, 'To the right,' 'To the left.' I have been obliged by the district to take to the gutter." Camille also complains, with a certain amount of jocularity, of the arbitrary arrests by the National Guards. He says one man had been arrested at the Café de Foy because he distributed several copies of a pamphlet he had written (one sympathises with the National Guards in this case); another because he read a journal aloud; another because he walked about in the Palais Royal, and so on.

Such was Paris in the latter part of August and throughout September. The "glorious revolution is evaporating in tri-color ceremonies and complimentary harangues." Of which, as Loustolat, another patriot journalist, calculates "upwards of two thousand have been delivered within the last month at the Town Hall alone. Paris groans under what the same writer calls with truth "a bourgeois despotism, having for its aim the substitution of an aristocracy of rich men for that of the nobles."

The middle-classes imagine the revolution is crushed, and shower praises on Lafayette for his courage and promptitude. Complimentary harangues are the order of the day, with the mutual admiration society at the Town Hall; but the people stand in *queue*, starving and moaning for bread. On the whole, the situation is admirably summed up by Carlyle, "Ruthless patrols; long superfine harangues; and scanty ill-baked loaves which produce effects upon the intestines. Where will this end? In consolidation?" We shall soon see.

D. J. NICOLL.

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC AND ENGLISH RADICAL REFORMERS.

THE writer of the following pages, having lived for many years in the Argentine Republic, where, almost from the establishment of its independence, the whole so-called Radical programme of this country has been in practice, wishes to point out how utterly useless all political reforms are while economic conditions are opposed to freedom. This they will see by a plain statement of facts as to what has fallen under the writer's own notice in the Republic.

But first I must show how thoroughly "free" the country is in a political sense. You have, in the first place, a republic modelled after the United States, with a fine free Constitution (on paper), which declares all men free and equal, and the rest of it. Then you have universal suffrage for all native-born citizens, or foreigners who choose to be naturalised, which these latter very seldom do, there being a very great advantage in *not* possessing a vote, as I shall prove further on. Then you have vote by ballot, and an arrangement by which minorities shall be secured representation. You have free education in public schools. Land is free, and is sold freely in the market like any other commodity. There is no law of primogeniture, a man's property being divided equally among all his children if he die without making a will, and if he make one the law only allows him to dispose of a small percentage away from them.

Again, every Province—which corresponds to "State" in the United States—has its own executive, ministers, Senate, and House of Representatives, but no house of hereditary legislators as in England. There is no Ireland there to lift a Parnell into popularity or power for his noble efforts in her cause, or a Grand Old Man verging on eighty years of age who has suddenly found out the justice of it. The members

of these legislative bodies are all paid, and paid well; and every five years there is a fresh election (more's the pity).

All this we have, and more also; and yet in that favoured land the rights and feelings of the poor are trampled on by the rich and powerful in a way which would be incredible except to one who, like myself, has seen it with his own eyes. The right of suffrage, also, far from being an advantage, has been and is a dreadful disadvantage to the poor man possessing it.

In the year 1871 I landed in Buenos Ayres, in the month of July, and in the month of October I started with an expedition of English engineers to cross the Pampa to Chile and survey a line of railway then projected. Mr. Robert Crawford, a well-known civil engineer, was chief of the expedition, and it was considered to be a difficult and dangerous work, owing to the line running through country continually traversed by the Indians, the *personel* was numerous, and a medical officer was required, which appointment I received.

The starting-point was Chivilcoy, the then most westerly point of the Western Railway of Buenos Ayres, and there we were informed we should find carts, cattle, and *peons* (native labourers) waiting for us. And sure enough there they were, particularly the *peons*, who had been carefully lodged in jail pending our arrival! On enquiry, Mr. Crawford was informed that it was the usual thing to do in such cases, as otherwise these free citizen-voters might repent and give up their engagement.

Does this seem incredible? No doubt it does; and it was very surprising to us, who had just come from a benighted country where universal suffrage and republicanism were unknown; but you will find by the sequel that such treatment of our *peons* is merely typical of what the class receives in all respects and on all occasions. Mr. Robert Crawford, after his return to England, published a book, 'Across the Pampa and the Andes,' in which he relates the history of the expedition, and in which will be found mention of the circumstance I have just stated. I found it particularly strange myself, as I had a short time before terminated a three years' residence in the United States, and believed at the time that republicanism and universal suffrage were not vain words. I thought that the vote was a protection to a man against such treatment, and I found myself at a horrible disadvantage when arguing afterwards with members of the staff who upheld rival institutions.

Well, before I recovered from the shock of this disposal of our free voters, I was called by the commissary officer of the expedition, Mr. Bookey, son of an Irishman born in the country, and who acted as our interpreter, to introduce me to a fine old Quixote-looking officer in uniform kepi and cavalry sword. This I was told was Captain Cabrera, commanding officer of—the *peons* of the expedition! that is to say, the Argentine *peons* or workers, the free men brought up in the enjoyment of universal suffrage and republicanism; the foreign workers, of whom we had about twenty, English and Germans, were not expected to submit to the orders of the captain. Cabrera was an officer of National Guards only, but it was quite sufficient that he wore a uniform and a sword, for the *peons*, accustomed to the most slavish submission to authority, to obey him unquestioningly, and as we have seen, to submit to be thrust into jail by him, for fear they might break their contract.

Well, we started after much delay, owing to the villainy of the Government contractors, who supplied us with almost useless animals at the price of good ones. But we did not cross the Pampa as at first intended, for, when arrived about seventy leagues from Chivilcoy, the danger of being attacked by Indians was so great that the officers of the frontier declared we would require a very large escort of soldiers, and this the Government refused to give us. Consequently it was resolved to pass on from fort to fort of the frontier and get to the Andes as quickly as possible, there to join the engineers who set out from the Chilian side, and do the really difficult part of the survey first. We thus had the opportunity given us of seeing what the life of the Argentine citizen-soldier on the frontier was.

And what did we find? We found the soldiers delivered into the worst kind of slavery to their officers, and no regard whatever paid to anything they had a legal claim to as "rights." They were never paid, and were abominably fed and clothed. We were told by the officer at one fort that for ten months they had not had supplies of any kind, and subsisted entirely by hunting. They were retained in service as long as their officers chose, without any regard to the term of their conscription or the time they were condemned to serve as punishment—service in the army being one method of chastising malefactors. In some places the soldiers were kept at hard labour cultivating the ground for the benefit of the commanding officer.

Is it not a wonder that the power of the vote, and the benefit of a free republican constitution, did not save these men from such injustice? Be it remembered that they were, with the exception of the criminals, free citizens, who were sent to serve their country on the frontier for three years, in obedience to the law! All will, however, be understood when you learn what the law was and the life these men lead in their homes.

Finally the expedition came to an end after nine months, and a useless expenditure of seventy odd thousand pounds, for the line was never constructed. We returned to Buenos Ayres, and I settled down in a country town (Navarro). Here I was not long settled, when, one day observing unusual bustle about the *Juzgado*, which in every town is a building which includes town hall, court of justice, jail, and police barrack, I was told that the contingent for frontier service had been brought in, and was as usual lodged in jail. Presently I met one of the members of the municipality, a kind, good-hearted man, who told me that in the contingent was one man that he knew, who had a wife

and eight children, and that he had been dragged away from his home, and unless great efforts were made on his behalf with the authorities, he would be sent to the frontier and his family left to shift for themselves!

On enquiry then, and on frequent occasions afterwards, I found that this was a common case. There was no regulation as to age, or family, or anything else. When the contingent was required parties of mounted police were sent out, and men were dragged from their homes with as little consideration as they would be in a slave hunt in Africa. The whole thing was under the control and will of one man in the Partido, the so-called justice of the peace (*Jefe de Paz*), and of course the first taken were those he had a grudge against. Glorious things, Universal Suffrage, Republicanism, and "free" institutions! I suppose part of their "freedom" consists in their gentle toleration of such little matters as this frontier service. What a vile slavery it produced, and how dreadful were its effects on the social condition and even the very character of the poor peasants! It had up to this been a source of great astonishment to me to see the slavish attitude of the poor Gauchos (another name for peasant or *peon*) in the presence of rich men or those in authority, but I now began to understand it.

JOHN CREAGHE.

(To be continued.)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The Federation des Peuples, which owes its existence to Amilcare Cipriani, has launched an appeal to all the Socialists of France and Italy, inviting them to take part in a Franco-Italian Socialist Congress to be held at Cannes on the 11th and 12th inst. This "Fédération" has now established branches at Livorno, Genua, Palermo, Spezia, Turino, Rome, Paris, Lyon, Marseilles, Nice, Cannes, Grasse, Vallauris, Le Cannet, etc., and intends at this proposed Congress to create a new League of Peace in order to "counteract the infernal diplomatic manoeuvres of the so-called Triple Alliance." All communications to be sent to Joanés Sagnol, chairman of Provisional Committee, at Le Cannet, near Cannes (Alpes-Maritimes, France).

The Chamber of Deputies have validated the election of the "Socialist" Joffrin, whom the electors of Clignancourt had contemptuously refused to elect as their deputy, giving over 3,000 votes more to the other candidate, General Boulanger; and the "Socialist" Joffrin, being a Possibilist, i.e., a man who thinks that the most shameful things are feasible when they result in a "possible" advantage for himself, has accepted the validation of his pseudo-mandate at the hands of Constans, the Minister of the Interior, who prostitutes universal suffrage as he has prostituted everything else. Matters are swiftly ripening in France now. We shan't have to wait long for a general uprising, and let us hope that once broken out there, it may spread all over Europe.

GERMANY.

The monster trial at Elberfeld lingers on, and there seems to be no end of it. Christmas is over and New Year has passed away, and in all probability the judicial farce will continue for another month or so. It seems, however, as if the Nupkinses began to be ashamed of the performance; for, now and again, they order a "gentleman" who has been too good and plain a witness to be arrested on account of an "alleged falsehood." The man who gives the most trouble to the tribunal is a certain Kamhoff, commissioner of police by profession and "gentleman-breeder" by trade. Quite a dozen of that Kamhoff's "gentlemen" have already been "discovered," and the *Sozialdemokrat* has it that others will come to the fore. There will be quite a leakage in the system after this trial.

Whilst we were writing the preceding lines a Mr. Pinoff, public prosecutor by profession, was howling down our comrades in his speech for the prosecution, and everybody can find out, by the perusal of his indigestive prose, that he has been speaking "by command of his master," the brutal iron Chancellor. He proposes to send Bebel to prison for 15 months, because he is supposed to be the leader of a secret society that has never existed; Grillenberger, 12 months, for having been Bebel's lieutenant in the same conspiracy; and Harm, 12 months, too, for the same imaginary offence, but in reality because all three are members of the Reichstag and in the way of Bismarck. They must go out of the way—that's all. For thirty-two other accused Pinoff demands from 6 to 9 months; for twenty-five others, 3 months' jail, and so on. Five are to be discharged, in order that the judicial farce may appear to have been a fair one. Pinoff has stated in his speech that Commissioner Kamhoff, the liar, is a model of an official, and that all those "gentlemen," who have been found out during the trial to be in the pay of the secret police, are the *fine fleur* of society, and deserve well of "their dear Fatherland." One would not believe it if it was not in Germany that such things happen. But in Germany!

Just as we are going to press the news comes that the trial is over, and that Mr. Pinoff has by no means got all that he asked for, and that Bebel, Grillenberger, and Schumacher had to be let go.

During last year Germany's prisons have been filled by 350,666 delinquents. Out of that number 552 were convicted of offences against his "Majesty," and sixty-one thousand eight hundred and six for offences against religion, state, or public order. And Germany is the most civilized land on earth, you know. A "blessed" civilization it is, indeed!

BELGIUM.

The miner's strike for an increase of wages from 15 to 20 per cent. continues to spread throughout the basin of Charleroi. The movement is rapidly extending to pits in other basins, and the number of men out has now reached a total of over 10,000. At the Mambourg, Sacré-Madame, Pays de Liège, and Houillères-Unies mines, the strike has assumed large proportions, very few men remaining at work; the Monceau-Fontaine, Amercœur, and Rochelle colliery men are likely to be out on strike by this time. At the Ormont mines the men struck, then resumed work, and finally went out again. Here are some figures showing the extent and distribution of the strike: Charleroi, 2,500 men out; Dampremy, 270; Montigny, 1,200; Gilly, 500; Lodelinsart, 650; Jumet, 1,300; Roux, 450; Chatelineau, 900; Fleurus, 800; Lodelinsart, 500; Marchiennes, 1,000. The strike movement is spreading from one basin to the other, and it is very

probable that a general strike throughout the Belgian coal districts is near at hand. The employers refuse to give way to the miner's claims. The colliers say, and with full reason, that last year the mines realised a profit of more than twelve millions and a-half of francs, and that now the profit is still greater. The miners are going to hold a mass meeting at Brussels, in order to lay their case before the general public. It is also probable that in a very few days the metallurgical workers will have to leave work, their industry being nearly at a standstill for want of coal.

HOLLAND.

It is quite possible that ere long a lot more of those "blasted foreigners," as the London philanthropist calls our Continental friends, will come over to this metropolis. Seven thousand diamond cutters and polishers are out of work in Amsterdam, not through any labour dispute or competition, but because they can no longer get diamonds to cut. At a meeting which they have held to consider their position, a resolution was proposed to transfer the industry to London. A final decision has not yet been arrived at, but it is stated that negotiations have been opened by their representatives for this purpose with several of the leading merchants here. The control of the great diamond-fields are now practically in the hands of companies or firms whose headquarters are in London, and it is said that hither also the best rough diamonds find their way for manipulation. Where the diamonds are, as long as the bourgeois attach any value to these coals, there the cutters must be also. If jewels do not go to Amsterdam to be cut, the Dutchmen think they must come to London to cut them. Hence the proposed exodus; but perhaps a good many cutters will also stop at Antwerp, where there are some leading firms too dealing in that useless stuff. We hope that if these "blasted foreigners" come over here they will soon join the ranks of the Socialist organisations, or form a new Dutch Socialist Society in London, thus reviving the old one which some ten years ago did good service for the Cause.

DENMARK.

I am very pleased to announce that another church has become the property of the Socialists. Our Danish comrades at Helsingör have bought a church of that locality for the sum of 40,000 kroner, and are about to transform it into a revolutionary meeting-hall. Bravo, comrades! This is the third church, as far as we know, which has undergone a similar transformation. The Belgian *Parti ouvrier* meet in a vast building called *La Maison du Peuple* (The People's House), which was formerly a Jewish temple of worship or synagogue. Our Dutch comrades at the Hague have bought the Walhalla building, which formerly was a Lutheran church. If only we could buy all the churches, nay, confiscate them, what splendid meeting-places we would have! And no more "cant" howled down from the "sacred" pulpits!

RUSSIA.

A few days ago died at Kieff an individual who has richly deserved to be cursed by all lovers of justice, Theodor Trepoff, formerly prefect of police at St. Petersburg. He began his career as a fiendish bloodhound at Varsovia, where, at the time of the Polish insurrection, he prosecuted his victims in such a barbarous way that he was actually compelled to leave his post as chief of the police there. But he remained in favour with the Czar, and was put at the head of the police department at St. Petersburg. There he became the real torturer of the Nihilists; but there also it was that, at the summit of his power, he was reached by the bold arm of a courageous woman, the heroic Vera Zassulitch, who lodged a bullet in his body because he had ill-treated one of her political friends in a prison cell. After the acquittal of Vera Zassulitch, he had to leave public life altogether under the pressure of public opinion. He died with the Nihilist bullet still in his body. May his fate be a warning for other scoundrels of the same stamp!

VICTOR DAVE.

THE FUNERAL OF A MURDERED WORKMAN.—Last Sunday the East London Socialists, with bands and banners, attended the funeral of a journeyman baker, who was killed by his master's son. He was a member of the Bakers' Union, and a fortnight ago claimed 2s. on account of overtime, which his master refused to pay. He therefore gave a week's notice to leave, and at its expiration was refused payment of his wages altogether, but instead received a blow on the back of the neck from the master's son which stretched him insensible on the pavement. He was taken to the London Hospital, and a little later the police called at the hospital and took him in custody on a charge of drunkenness; and as that was found to be false, he was taken back to the hospital and refused admission. The next day he died of his injuries about four hours after his admission to the German Hospital. At the last moment we were informed that the Bakers' Union had decided to have no speeches over the grave, but simply a burial service; so we held a meeting outside the cemetery gates—the speakers being Cantwell, Kahn, and another English comrade—to explain the circumstances and protest against the leniency of the treatment which the murderer has received (allowed out on trifling bail). The capitalist press, as usual, although eager to dilate on the hardships of an Irish landlord or grinding capitalist, pass over the murder of a workman in silence.

T. C.

NOTICE.—CENTRAL METROPOLITAN BRANCH S.L.—This Branch is now being formed for the purpose of utilising the central meeting room for lectures and entertainments. Out-door work will be commenced so soon as weather permits. London members wishing to join should send in at once to F. Kitz, 24 Great Queen Street. Entrance-fee, 6d.; subscription, 1d. per week. First meeting will be announced in *Commonweal*.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 1.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Arbeiterstimme
Labour Elector	Milwaukee—National Reformers	Bulletin Continental
Labour Tribune	N. J. Freie Presse	
London—Freie Presse	Philadelphia—United Labour	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Seville—La Alarma
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Sozial Demokrat	St Louis—Anarchist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Seafaring	Altruist	GERMANY
L'Associazione	Ybor City—Revista da Florida	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Single-Tax Review		AUSTRIA
INDIA	FRANCE	Wien—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Bourse du Travail	
UNITED STATES	Le Reveil Social	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	Little—Le Cri du Travailleur	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Rouen—Le Salariat	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Volkzeitung	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
Twentieth Century	Anarchist	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
United Irishman	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate		Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM	CAPE COLONY
Nationalist	Ghent—Vooruit	Cape Town—Argus
Buffalo—Arbeiter Zeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	
	Antwerp—De Werker	

DO YOU AGREE?

Do you agree with us that the social awakening of the workers is a desirable end? Do you agree with us that we are working in the right way to achieve that end?

You do not? Then oppose us and prove us wrong on every platform and in every paper to which you can gain access!

You do agree? Then work with us and for us; help us to extend our circle of influence; let no day pass in which you have not interested some one in our propaganda!

There is no middle course for an honest man!

NOTES.

"At the convention of tramps of the United States, held in Wilkes-barre, Pa., the other day, after a full and free discussion as to the causes which contributed to the lengthening of the list of tramps in this country; the following resolutions were adopted," according to the *Boston Herald*, by a majority vote:

"Resolved, that the American tramp is the fruit of the policy formed by our millionaires and grasping monopolies, who, with the aid of improved machinery, are driving honest workmen from the factories and mills of the country.

"Resolved, that we tramps stand together for our own protection."

"The minority were in favour of placing a small share of the blame for the tramp's misery on the tramp himself, but it is needless to say that the proposition was frowned upon." This is what the *Herald* thinks is a joke; but, when it has done laughing, I should like it to explain where the joke comes in. At the same time, it might take occasion to explain, if it can, the true causes of the tramp's existence.

In the Rosario (Argentine) *Reporter* of Nov. 12 there was a paragraph which seems to illustrate comrade Creagh's article, and from which, as "gladly reproduced" by the Buenos Ayres *Southern Cross*, I take the following:

"The Englishman . . . who was . . . some four months ago charged on his own confession with having killed a man in self defence, was set at liberty on the 31st ult. Mr. Deehan . . . has kept his word, and if we mistake not this is fifty odd English speaking persons whom Mr. Deehan has set at liberty within the last twelve months. It is with great pleasure that we give this item, and more so when we see that it is done in a most disinterested manner, merely out of the generous disposition of Don Jorge."

On the face of it this looks as though the man had been detained without enquiry, and released, equally without trial, through what the *Southern Cross* calls the "philanthropic endeavours" of Mr. Deehan, and what the *Reporter* admirably styles the "generous disposition of Don Jorge," whoever that dignitary may be. It reads like the free and easy "justice" of Haroun Alraschid in the 'Arabian Nights,' rather than the staid administration of the law in a free and enlightened republic. But if Don Jorge would like to explain, our columns are open to him.

Don Jorge might also enlighten us as to what became of the items in this little list, from the *Southern Cross* of Nov. 15:

"During September the police arrested 2,690 persons for crimes and offences: 108 for fighting, 169 for wounding, 149 for using arms, 116 for robbery and swindling, 6 for infanticide, 3 for highway robbery, 15 for homicide, 5 for rape, 6 for incendiarism, etc. 20 criminals avoided arrest."

They have got the machinery of law-'n'-order to a high pitch of development if only twenty "criminals" in all that vast country "avoided arrest"! And all the unfortunates who didn't "avoid arrest," were they detained without trial, or set free by the "generous disposition" of somebody or another?

The *Staats Courant* of the South African Republic contains an extraordinary list of unclaimed letters, all addressed to persons of English names. What a tale such a list tells of the influx of adventurers to the gold-fields, all of them evidently not knowing of any settled address to which their letters may be addressed. So says the *Cape Argus*. Does it not also tell a tale of the social conditions which have driven out so many men to try a desperate fall with fortune?

S.

IN LANCASHIRE.

A VALUABLE lesson in labour organisation may be learnt from the disastrous result to the workers of the Manchester gas strike. The new labour movement had made great progress among the various classes of unorganised workers in Lancashire. It was not hampered by old traditions, or by leaders pledged to a policy of the past, but was working on the lines of an active militant organisation impatient to show its power.

Within three months it had won for the gas workers of Manchester, Salford, and the smaller Lancashire towns, a reduction of hours from eight to twelve daily, with an increase of wages in many cases, besides other concessions. The men of the health department of the Manchester Corporation, over 1,000 in number, also obtained a considerable advance of wages, all of which was achieved without having to resort to a strike. In the case of Berry's blacking factory, where about 200 men had joined the union, a four day's strike sufficed to gain an advance in wages of about 15 per cent.

All this was accomplished by the sheer force of determined action on the part of the workers themselves, and was not by any means the outcome of the generalship of brilliant "leaders." It was estimated that in Lancashire 12,000 men had joined the union.

Yet the union was not without its leaders whose threats of bringing "their" men out on strike were not infrequent, even when the men were winning hands down. Indeed, an overbearing vanity seemed their chief qualification for wielding the authority which attached to their position. Now, the lesson begins when the startling fact comes out, that the workers themselves had but a slight acquaintance with the rules and working of their union, leaving its management wholly

in the hands of one or two officials and a committee selected by the latter.

No doubt the rank and file knew pretty well what they wanted, though they certainly did not understand the action of their leaders, who, intoxicated with the authority they exercised over their fellow-workers, were doing, or were about to do, so much for the men without consulting them as to their wants, and assuming the glory beforehand. The result of this passiveness, want of initiative, and readiness to be "led" on the men's part was, that they never quite comprehended what was going forward in the agitation, and allowed themselves to be hurried into an ill-planned line of action which ended, as it was doomed to end, in ignominious failure.

Thus was the union demoralised internally, at the same time that it lost the public confidence which it had created. But what chiefly explains how the men were duped—I cannot use a milder term—was the promise made them that they would receive financial aid from the executive of the General Labourers' and Gas Workers' Union in London in case of a strike. It does not appear, however, that the latter body was in any way to blame. The Manchester gas men came out after working a fortnight's notice, the reason being blacklegism—four "blacklegs" were in the works, three of whom had asked to be admitted to the union, and one resigned and went away—they were joined by their Salford brethren, whose only reason was to do the same as the Manchester men.

Had they been allowed to remain in when their notices were up, they would gladly have done so. Much irritation was felt, and not unjustly so, against the leaders when it was found that the promised supplies were not forthcoming. Certain it is, that the strike would not then have taken place had this been clearly known from the first. Of course the strike was then virtually over, the men showing a complete absence of spirit or determination. So much as to how one of Labour's battles was fought and—lost before it began.

It is surprising how soon men forget benefits when they encounter a reverse; and reverses are inevitable under the existing conditions of the struggle between Labour and Capitalism.

The old trade unions have ceased to be a power, for the struggle today is keener, more general though less hopeless; and the new unions in their endeavours to organise unskilled labour, if showing some advance on the old in their methods, display very little in their aims.

For this reason Socialists will be wise not to expect much from the attempts of the trade unions, old or new, to permanently improve the position of the toilers as a whole through strikes, and the policy of passive submission to law and authority, which they almost invariably adopt. Starvation is a poor resource to fall back upon, yet that is what the ordinary strike supplies the workless worker with in greatest abundance. A strike will in future be of very little effect unless some positive policy is adopted, in place of the merely negative one of seeing how long suffering can be endured, in order only to gain some small immediate want.

There are some curious things in the way of labour unions in Manchester. The Tramway Employés' Association is one of these absurdities. Founded about six months ago, during an attempt on the part of a few guards to strike, it has now got nearly all the tram and bus men in its ranks. We have watched it of late going a-begging round all the "nobility and gentry," J.P.'s, M.P.'s, baronets, and other "gentlemen," to obtain patrons. It appears to have succeeded fairly well. For a treasurer it has been honoured by a Tory brewer, the proprietor of some of the vilest slums in the city.

The secretary, one of the tram guards, explained the other day that their association was in no way antagonistic to the tramway directors, nor to any employers' interests; that the men were very well satisfied (as well they may be, working *only* seventeen hours a-day for wages ranging from 2s. 6d. to 5s. !), for the directors had kindly allowed them a half-day off once a fortnight. He also disclaimed any sympathy whatever on the part of his union for the unfortunate gas-men, believing that if the tram-men had obtained half as much they would have been more than satisfied. Whoever reads this will hardly be very much surprised to learn that the list of patrons is "swelling wisely."

At a mass meeting of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in St. James's Hall, Manchester, a large number of "gentlemen," capitalists, and others with handles to their names, have been admonishing the men, extolling the wealth of the society, and the noble work it did in maintaining orphans of railway servants and other charitable projects. Small wonder that a new union has been formed for the slaves of the line!

The State Church can boast—or rather lament, perhaps—that one at least of its great ones in this district is on the side of the masses. The Dean of Manchester, Dr. Oakley, has manfully taken the part of the gas-stokers by defending them in the press and among his brother parsons, by doing which he has obtained the heartiest hatred from the privileged classes. All honour to him and to any who dare to incur the ill-will of society by stepping out of high places to champion the cause of the poor and the helpless.

W. B.

OGRE MONOPOLY.

Ogre Monopoly walks the land,
Blasted his path and gory;
Sycophants ready on every hand,
Shout forth his praise and glory.

Ogre Monopoly's eye is cold,
Sharp are his fangs and streaming
With the blood of the lambs from the people's fold,
He laughs at his victim's screaming.

Ogre Monopoly laughs, I say—
Laughs at the cry of sorrow;
He tears and rends his fill to-day,
He will hunger for more to-morrow.

Ogre Monopoly groweth strong,
Aye, daily he groweth stronger;
Ever and ever his thought is Wrong—
Shall Monopoly reign much longer?

Shall blasted homes and bitter lives
Form sauce for the Ogre's dinner?
Shall freemen groan in his cruel gyves,
And the saint be spurned by sinner?

Shall Ogre Monopoly rend and rack
Our women, our young, forever?
Look back, men! Look at his ghastly track!
Shut your teeth: By God, No! Never!

Shall Ogre Monopoly own the earth?
Shall the one be as the seven?
Shall he claim our babes at their very birth,
And take toll at the gates of Heaven?

Shall Ogre Monopoly drink our tears?
Shall he nourish his spawn on toil?
Shall he find his sport in the people's fears?
And see in their woes but spoil?

No! Ogre Monopoly, down you go!
Down 'neath the stroke of sorrow;
The harvest is as the seed you sow:
Destruction is ripe to-morrow.

Ogre Monopoly, reap your field,
Haggard and bent and hoary,
But curse yourself as you curse the yield—
The seed was yours—and gory!

Journal of United Labour.

GEORGE H. CANDLER.

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE Johannesburg famine scare is pretty well over, the drought having broken up. Wagons laden with food-stuffs came in freely, and prices came down a little. However, things are bad for the workers every way, and many mechanics and other tradesmen are idle. When I said, in my letter of October 4th, that "The curse of enforced idleness was not so much to be dreaded here as in Britain," I meant it to refer to tradesmen and this part of South Africa only. Of unskilled labourers there are many out of employment, and the condition of the greater part of those in work is as bad as that of their fellows in Britain—nay, in some ways it is slightly worse, if that be possible—for in some cases you may find men working alongside of natives suffering from leprosy, and on the Government railways. They are simply boycotted, except about the stations. Caffre labourers are easily got at from 2s. to 3s. per day, and are employed for two reasons:—First, cheapness; second, because they can be driven about like cattle without question. Should they absent themselves from work for a single day, they are lodged in gaol for fourteen days, with the option of a £1 fine, which, for their ability to pay, might as well be £500.

Many of the natives sleep in the "bush" and in "kloofs" of Table Mountain, whilst their main food is "snock and rice." Snock is a large, coarse kind of fish, very plentiful and cheap, which, when sun-dried, stinks like the very devil, but is thought good enough for Caffres. I am inclined to believe that leprosy is induced more by the conditions of life among the natives and the general rottenness of the garbage they are forced to feed upon than from any "germ" theory yet thought of. Cheap and nasty has a horrible meaning here, the fruit and vegetable trade, being mostly in the hands of natives, who are patronised by many of the rich and middle class on account of their cheapness in selling; but when one sees, as can be seen in Cape Town often enough, fruits and vegetables being vended by natives whose hands bear the loathsome marks of leprosy, then one can understand the high price paid for cheapness after all! And yet many of the lepers refuse to go to the Leper Settlement at Robben Island, for much the same reason as many people in Britain refuse to go to the poorhouse.

In Kimberly—diamond-fields—just now, there are dozens of men of all trades and no trade going idle, whilst in Johannesburg they have been forced to erect a night shelter for the unemployed. Henry George says with the locomotive comes the tramp. In this case the tramp has come before the locomotive. Much nearer the mark would it have been, had he said that with capitalism comes tramp and paupers, scamps, sharebrokers, shareholders and scoundrels of all kinds.

The South African Chartered Company have despatched thirty men to join the colonial police force under Colonel Carrington on the borders of Matabeleland, which force they have subsidised in their own interest, and not in the interest of Britain will this force be used.

Britain's bribe to the Transvaal Government for leave to run a railway to Johannesburg is likely to give the Special Commissioner, Sir Francis De Winton, some trouble. Five hundred of the Swazi warriors waited upon the Commission and told them in pretty plain speech that they were an independent nation, and recognised no right of Britain to hand them over to the Dutch Boers or the British either. However, the British capitalists want a railway to the gold-fields, and Swaziland is the price demanded by the Transvaal Republic; and as the payment comes not out of the pockets of the capitalists there—it will be paid.

Cape Town, December 5th, 1889.

J. B.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Gas-stokers' Strike.

Already the men are beginning to taste the tender mercies of the law, which we are so often told exists as much for the benefit of the poor as the rich. It appears that on Saturday December 21st a body of police who were escorting a number of blacklegs from the railway station to the East Greenwich Gas-works, were attacked by a crowd of strikers and their sympathisers in Marsh Lane, Greenwich. A lively scrimmage followed, police and blacklegs faring very badly, several being severely injured; one sergeant is now suffering from concussion of the brain. Although the police made no arrests, yet they determined to have someone; so warrants were issued, and four men—Parker, Minter, Jarvis, and Brown—were charged at Greenwich Police-court on Thursday Dec. 26 with assaulting the police. Of course the worthy officers found no difficulty in swearing that the prisoners were in the crowd and were active in assaulting them. Three of the men—Parker, Minter, and Jarvis—were sentenced to one month's hard labour, while the fourth, Brown, received two months. In one case, at least, that of Parker, it is very uncertain if the police have got hold of the right man; for after the trial a clergyman appeared who stated that he was "a most respectable young man," and a member of his congregation. It was no use, however; the magistrate had passed his sentence, which could not be altered. It is quite evident that the officials of middle-class law and order are determined to back up Mr. Livesey to the full extent of their power. Throughout all the recent labour revolts the magistrates have seized every opportunity for passing brutal sentences upon the strikers. In this instance the dullest can see that the magistrate cared very little whether the men before him had assaulted the police or not. They were "on strike," and that was quite enough.

The same spirit was shown by Mr. Bridge at Bow Street on Saturday Dec. 28 in dealing with the case of Henry Weir. It appears the prisoner had, according to the evidence of some veracious police-constables, recommended the people, at a meeting in Hyde Park, to slaughter Mr. Livesey. Now at present there is nothing but the word of these truthful gentlemen to prove that Weir actually used the words, yet the magistrate refused all bail, and thus passed a sentence of five days' imprisonment upon a man who had possibly not even committed the "offence" with which he was charged. Though if he had, it was surely no great crime for anyone to be stung into strong language at the sight of the misery caused by the craft and greed of a wily hypocrite. I would like to know, if people are to be sentenced to months of hard labour for intimidation and strong language, what punishment has the law for a man like Mr. Livesey, who is ready to inflict cruel suffering upon thousands in order to reign as an irresponsible tyrant over miserable slaves. No, there is no legal punishment for Mr. Livesey. He is a worthy and respectable citizen, who is quite free to inflict a sentence of wholesale starvation upon thousands of the common herd, while the law will protect him from even a threat from the sufferers by his cunning and cruelty.

There has been a prolonged controversy between Mr. Livesey and the Strike Committee in the press. The good gentleman is very much annoyed because the committee has published his scheme in its original form. It is such barefaced imposition that even he is ashamed of it. He says that he has made alterations, but as the men who had signed, had signed the original agreement, the alterations would have made little difference to them, and Mr. Livesey would have completely succeeded in his darling object of crushing the union. Even under the boasted alterations, the men would lose their liberty of striking through signing the agreement on different dates, and thus their union would become useless.

The Dockyard Labourers' Wages.

At the present time the oppressed are everywhere making their voices heard. They are no longer content to suffer dumbly as in the past. Among others, the dockyard labourers have joined in the general cry. One of them, writing to the *Daily News*, points out that in Chatham dockyard these wretched people are expected to live upon a wage of 16s. 6d. No wonder we also hear that they "are compelled to live in courts, alleys, and slums, where the sun never shines to cheer their wretched lot." But what does the dockyard labourer do with all this wealth? Our friend, for the information of Giffen and Levi and the public generally, gives an account of his own expenditure, which I will quote, as it may interest philanthropic middle-class people who have made themselves ill by general overfeeding during this season of "peace and goodwill." 4s. 6d. goes for rent, and that leaves 12s. to purchase food during the week. Here is the list of articles purchased: Bread, 2s.; flour, 4d.; meat, 2s.; butter and dripping, 1s. 2d.; milk, 3d.; vegetables, 1s. 3d.; tea and sugar, 1s.; coal and wood, 1s. 6d.; lights, 6d.; washing material, 6d.; sundries, 3d.; schooling, 3d.; benefit society and insurance, 1s.—total, 12s. There is not much margin for riotous dissipation on the part of these "thrifless poor." Indeed, as the writer points out, even with this careful expenditure, "nothing is left to buy furniture, clothing, shoes, or to lay aside for time of sickness." No wonder these men live in a state of "chronic starvation," and this it must be remembered is practically the condition not only of the dock labourers, but of the great mass of unskilled workers throughout England, whose wages never reach a higher average than that paid in Government dockyards. Surely it cannot be a comforting reflection to any rich man that "chronic starvation" is the condition of the immense majority of the workers. For let him remember that "patient" as they have been, they may tire of this some day, and already there are signs of their speedy awakening. D. N.

Amalgamation of East London Hebrew Workers' Unions.

The desirability having for some time past been felt amongst the organised Jewish workers of the East-end to federate under one head, a course of meetings were weekly held at the International Workmen's Educational Club, Berner Street, E., by delegates from the under-mentioned Hebrew workers' unions, with the result that about 4,000 Jewish workers attended a mass meeting on Saturday 28th, at 3 p.m., at the Great Assembly Hall, Mile-end, E., under the auspices of the Hebrew Cabinet-makers' Society, Stick and Cane Dressers' Union, International Furriers' Society, Tailor-Machinists' Union, Tailors and Pressers' Union, Amalgamated Lasters' Society, United Cap-makers' Society, and International Journeymen Boot-finishers' Society, with the object of getting the agreement of the members of these unions to the proposed amalgamation. C. V. Adams (of the Alliance Cabinet-makers' Union, and secretary of the Hebrew Cabinet-makers' Society) presided.

The following resolution was put by comrade W. Wess (secretary *pro tem.* of the newly-formed federation: "That this mass meeting of East London workers, recognising the great benefits that can be derived from a combination of all existing unions, hereby inaugurates the 'Federation of East London Labour Unions,' and pledges itself to do its utmost to support and strengthen it." In proposing this resolution, comrade Wess spoke in English and Hebrew-German, pointing out to the workers the necessity for not ceasing to work in their organisations until they had achieved their emancipation, so that there would be no more necessity to organise for strikes and other small attempts of labour against capitalism, but then they would organise for their own common good, and reap the full produce of their labour. This resolution was seconded by L. Goldstein, who spoke in Hebrew-German, and supported by comrades J. Macdonald, T. Walker (S.D.F.), comrades B. Feigenbaum, H. H. Sparling and C. W. Mowbray (S.L.), and Tom Mann. The condemnation by our comrades of interferences in labour matters by Chief Rabbis, Lord Mayors, Cardinals, Boards of Conciliation, and M.P.'s, and the necessity of direct action by workmen themselves and through their organisations, was received amid great applause. A vote of thanks was then carried to Mr. Charrington for the loan of the hall, and also to the chairman. S. P.

CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR.

THE fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labour was called to order in Boston on the morning of Tuesday December 10 by president Samuel Gompers. About 600,000 members of the organisation were represented by delegates. As upon this convention devolved the duty to decide ways and means for a plan of action as regards the introduction of an eight-hour labour day on May 1st, 1890, an account of its proceedings was looked for in labour circles with a considerable amount of interest. Of late it has become quite a fashion for people in so-called high office to patronise conservative labour organisations, and in this instance the delegates were "honoured" with hearty speeches of welcome from Mayor Hart of the city of Boston, a large buyer of the commodity labour, and from Governor Ames of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a man possessing a fortune in the near neighbourhood of eight million pounds.

President Gompers read his annual address, a document which is too lengthy to be reproduced here. The address showed that 3,800 local labour unions had been organised during the past year; that relations with other labour organisations had been fairly harmonious; that an effort had been made to secure co-operation of the Knights of Labour on the eight-hour issue; that propositions had been received from the several farmers' organisations for co-operation; that the declaration to establish the eight-hours day on May 1, 1890, had revived the labour movement; that on Sept. 2nd, 1889 (Labour Day), 420 mass meetings were held in cities and towns of the United States; that 309 general organisers have held meetings in their respective localities; that the following pamphlets were written—"The Eight Hour Primer," by George E. McNeill; "The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight Hour Movement," by George Gunton; "The History and Philosophy of the Eight Hour Movement," by Lemuel Danryd; and that about 30,000 of these pamphlets were distributed in the country.

Most of the delegates made encouraging reports as regards the bodies they represented.

The following resolutions, amongst others, were adopted:

"Resolved, that the American Federation recognises the power of printers' ink, and earnestly urges that the labour press be liberally supported by trade-unionists, and that they in turn push the circulation of labour papers among the people not connected with organised labour.

"Resolved, that the principles of the Employers' Liability Bill of Massachusetts ought to be adopted in every State, and every employer ought to be liable for personal injuries received by an employé in the usual discharge of his duties while obeying the orders of the superintendent over him.

"Resolved, that the American Federation of Labour requests the bureaus of labour statistics of all States, where established, to conduct similar investigations, and publish the results of their reports. Resolved further, that we urge the labour unions and societies of the several States to adopt resolutions favouring such investigations, and appoint committees to wait upon the commissioners and show the propriety of carrying out the purpose of these resolutions.

"Resolved, that the president of this Federation request the officers of the various national and international unions connected with this body to urge their respective local unions to take a more general interest in their respective city and town central labour organisations, and affiliate with them by sending delegates from their respective unions. Also that the president cause circulars to be printed urging the necessity of unions not having a national organisation, but still working under charters from the American Federation of Labour, to be represented in their various local central labour bodies.

"Resolved, that the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labour, in meeting assembled, urge upon the delegates to the international marine conference the adoption of an international load-line, an Act relating to the seaworthiness of vessels, the manning of vessels, and the competition of crews. Resolved, that the convention urge the maritime conference to use their influence to get the sailors and firemen represented in all future conventions.

"Resolved, that we earnestly urge the abolition of the labour of children wherever such labour shall be injurious to the healthy and proper development of the children."

Under the report of the eight-hour committee, George E. McNeill, for the committee, read a long and eloquent address on the eight hours question, and recommended that it be adopted and sent out to the workers.

The address was adopted amid cheers, and by a rising vote. It was decided to send a copy of the address to the trade unions and labour organisations of England. The plan of campaign as regards the eight hours day adopted by the convention is explained in the sentence, "We, therefore, recommend that the executive council shall have power," etc.

This, it must be confessed, is a considerable break-down when compared to the original demand.

The following resolutions were also adopted:

"The executive council shall have the power, and are directed, to levy a strike assessment of 2 cents. per member, on the 1st of January, 1890, on all national and international bodies under the jurisdiction of the federation for the purpose of starting a strike fund."

"In case any national or international body affiliated with this federation orders a strike or is locked out, and by reason of financial distress it shall become necessary for it to call upon the federation for assistance, the executive council, if they deem that such organisation is entitled to receive such assistance, shall make an assessment of 2 cents. per member per week upon every

other national or international body so affiliated with the federation; such assessment shall remain in force at the discretion of the executive council."

The following rider was added to the last resolution:

"Unless otherwise ordered by a general assembly of all national or international bodies."

The delegates decided to invite John Burns to come to America and address mass meetings on the eight hour question.

It was voted to increase the president's salary to 1,500 dols., and to engage a secretary at 1,200 dols. a-year.

President Gompers was re-elected by a unanimous vote. The other officers are:—1st Vice-President: William Martin, of the iron and steel-workers; 2nd Vice-President: P. J. Macguire, of the carpenters; Secretary: Christopher Evans, of the coal miners; Treasurer: Henry Emride, of the furniture workers.

A resolution to hold an international working men's congress in 1892 in the city where the international exhibition commemorating the fourth centennial of the discovery of America in the United States will be held, was adopted.

A most interesting proposition was that of assisting an international labour paper to be published in Switzerland in the French, English, and German languages, which should contain reports of the eight hour movement, and which should be distributed through the Federation in America. The committee to which this was referred reported adversely, as it was thought that there were labour papers in America which needed support, if any assistance was to be given to labour papers. The report of the committee against the proposition was only carried by a vote of 27 to 25.

A strong address to the working-people of America denouncing the back-handed policy of T. V. Powderly, was adopted amid great enthusiasm.

The convention adjourned on Saturday to meet in Detroit, Mich., the second Monday in December, 1890.

I should like to make many comments on the proceedings of the convention, but the space of the *Weal* does not permit of it, so the readers must take the will for the deed.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 17, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Central Reading Room.—The Hall at 24, Great Queen Street, will be open to all Members of the League every evening from 7.30 to 10 p.m. Members must show their cards to the steward.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. North Kensington and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell and East London, to end of October. North London, Mitcham, and Leicester, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; D. J. Nicoll, 6d.; and C. Saunders, 2s.

REPORTS.

MANCHESTER.—We have resumed the meetings of the League in Stevenson Square on Sundays. At the last Barton, Bailie and Stockton spoke to a fair audience. The general meeting of the branch was held at the Club on Sunday night. The corresponding and financial secretaries were re-elected for the next quarter, and it was decided to find a suitable place for a club-room, as the tenancy of the premises we occupy has expired. In the meantime our weekly meetings will be held on Sundays, at 8 p.m., at the secretary's address, 52 Miller Street, Manchester.

YARMOUTH.—On Christmas Day Comrades Headley and Ruffold distributed a quantity of back numbers of the *Commonweal* and leaflets, and afterwards held a meeting on the Priory Plain. On Sunday we held our usual meeting in the morning on Priory Plain, Comrade Ruffold addressing the audience. Fair sale of the *Commonweal*.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Dec. 28th, T. Hamilton delivered an address on "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," in which he gave an eloquent exposition of the ideals of Socialism. Good discussion. Wilson, King, Kavanagh, O'Gorman and Fitzpatrick took part.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—On Sunday a capital audience assembled in our hall, and Comrade H. Snell (Fabian) gave us an eloquent address on "Socialism: its Laws and Course. Some questions satisfactorily answered; 1s. 2d. collected for lecture fund. On Dec. 31st we saw the old year out with a tea party, and sang Socialist songs the while.

EDINBURGH (SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION).—Comrade Donald Mackenzie delivered a short lecture to a fair audience on Sunday, in the Moulders' Hall, his subject being "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Though short was the lecture, long, lively, and not uninteresting was the discussion which followed. Two new members joined.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—Delegates and friends from societies in Lancashire and adjoining counties are invited to meet the members of the above Society on Saturday January 11th, 1890, at 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street. At 4 p.m. a conference will be held on the desirability of united action; and at 7.30 p.m. a Social Gathering, when a programme consisting of vocal and instrumental music, etc., will be gone through. Any assistance in this will be cordially accepted from delegates. On Sunday January 12th, a public meeting will take place. Those who intend to be present are requested to send word to the Secretary, E. C. Chapman, 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street, two days beforehand.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

Clerkenwell.—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday January 5, at 8.30, Special members' meeting to consider the position of branch. Members are particularly requested to turn up.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. French Class, Friday 8 to 9.

Merton.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

Mitcham.—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

Southwark.—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

Streatham.—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

Dundee.—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

Glasgow.—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

Hull.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Branch meets temporarily at the Secretary's, 52 Miller Street, on Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible to help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 4.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste Cores and Presburg

SUNDAY 5.

11 Latimer Road Station Dean, Crouch, and Maughan
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane Mainwaring
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street Cores
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green The Branch
11.30..... Regent's Park Cantwell and Nicoll
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square The Branch
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch Cantwell and Mowbray
3.30..... Victoria Park The Branch
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
7.30..... Walkham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

TUESDAY 7.

8 Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 9.

8.15..... Hoxton Church The Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

Sheffield.—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11 a.m.; Gower Street, at 3 p.m.; Pump, Westbar, 8 p.m.

Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—In Moulders' Hall, High St., on Sunday January 5, at 6.30, a lecture (for subject, see *Evening News*, Sat.).

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.—"Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—

Sunday January 5, at 8.45 p.m., Lothrop Withington, "The Nobility of Crime."

SHEFFIELD.—At Hallamshire Hall, Westbar, on Sunday January 5, J. Sketchley, 11 a.m., "The Labour Movement at Home and Abroad"; at 6.30, "Our Position To-Day."

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday January 5, at 8 p.m., Herbert Burrows, "Three Aspects of Socialism—Political, Social, and Moral."

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB, Woodland Place, Parliament Street.—Sunday January 5th, Councillor Haydn Sanders (of Walsall), at 11 a.m., "Municipal Socialism"; at 7 p.m., "Trade Unionism from a Socialist Standpoint."

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See Notice on page 7.

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not *use*, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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